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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

13. Roasting maize attracting the Toltecs (Chapter XI)
14. Quetzalcoatl in a drunken sleep (Chapter XIII)
15. Preparation of corpse (Appendix, Chapter I)
16. Burning of corpse (Appendix, Chapter I)
17. Conference with masters of the youths, upon birth of a child (Appendix, Chapter IV)
18. Taking children to the young men's house (Appendix, Chapter V)
19. Tending fires in the song house (Appendix, Chapter V)

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HERE BEGINNETH THE ADDITION TO THE THIRD BOOK, CALLED THE APPENDIX, WHICH TELLETH OF THE SOULS OF THOSE WHO DIED AND OF STILL OTHER SERVICES [RENDERED] THE RULERS.[1]

NICAN VMPEOA IN IANCA, INIC EY AMOXTLI IN ICOTŌCA APENDIZ IN ITECH TLATOA IN IMANIMAOĀ IN OMICQUE. YOAN OC CEQUI IN ITLAECOLTILOCA, IN TLACATECUTL.

775 **First Chapter**, which telleth of the souls of those who died, who went there to the land of the dead; and of how they were buried.

[This is] what the natives knew: the old ones and the chiefs. For all who died went to [one or another of] three places when they died.[2]

The first place was there to the land of the dead[3] where dwelt, and was, Mictlan tecutli or Tzontemoc, and Mictecaciuatl, consort of Mictlan tecutli.

And there, to the land of the dead, went [the souls of] all of those who died here on earth, who died only of sickness—the chiefs, the vassals.

●764 And when one died—man, or woman, or child—they thus prayed to him who had died, who had met his end. They spoke to him when still he lay couched and stretched out:

[761] "My son, thou hast known sorrow; thou hast suffered. Our lord hath been good to thee. For in truth here on earth the abode of all of us is not always to be, but it is only for a little time, only a moment, as we warm ourselves [in the sun]. Only through the grace of our lord do we come to know ourselves.

764 "And now, verily, Mictlan tecutli receiveth thee there—Acolnauacatl, Tzontemoc; and Mictecaciuatl. For he hath placed thee in this place; he hath provided thee a seat. Lo, there is the abode of all of us; there is the place where we all come to our fate—there where the earth groweth wide, where forever [all things] end.

775 "For thou hast removed to the abode of the dead, to the place of descent, to the end of journeys, and to the place of no outlets and no openings.[3a] For

Injc ce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa yn imanjman in miquja in vmpa via mjctlan, yoan in quenjn tocoua.

In juh qujmatia in nican tlaca in veuetque; yoan in tlatoque ca in jxqujchtin miquja. Excan in vi, yn iquac miquj.

Jnjc ceccan vmpa in mjctlan, auh in vncan mjctlan, vncan onoc, vncan ca mictlan tecutli, anoço Tzontemoc, yoan in Mictecacihoatl, yn icioauh mjctlā tecutli.

auh in vmpa vi, mjctlī iehoantin, in jxquichtin tlalmiqui, in çan coculiztli ic miqui in tlatoque, in maceoalti.

auh in iquac miquia in oquichtli, anoço cihoatl, anoço piltōtli. auh injc quitlatlauhtiaia in miquja, in momiquiliaia, quilhujaia, in çan oc uezitoc, in çan oc acantoc.

Nopiltze oyhjotl ticmomachili,[3a] otitmociavilti, omitzmocnelili in totecujo, canel amo njcan tocenchan in tlalticpac, ca çan achitzin ca, ca çan cuel achic, ca çan titotonio ca, çan ipaltzinco titiximatico in totecujo.

auh iñ axcan ca omitzalmanili in mjctlan tecutli, in Acalnaoacatl in Tzotemoc, yoan in Mjctecacihoatl, ca omitzalmotetzonti, ca omjtzalmocpalti, canel vmpa tocenchan, vmpa tocenpopolivjian, vmpa tlalpatlaoa, ca oiccen onquiz,

ca otonmovicac in quenamjcan, ximoaaian in viloaian, in apochquijtaoaiocā, in atlecalocan, ca ocmo ceppa miloch monecuepal ticchioaz, ca ocmo tiealla-

1. The word, in the Aztec column, is probably to be read differently.
2. Not mentioned in the Appendix to Book III is the concept of a special place for women who died in childbirth. See Book IV.
3. Although Sahagún invariably translates mictlan as *infierno*, the literal meaning is land or place of the dead.
3a. The terms *apochquijtaoaiocā* and *atlecalocan* might literally be rendered "place without a smoke hole" and "place without a chimney." For discussion see here and synopsis.

764 [775] no more mayest thou make thy return, thy way back. Yea, no more mayest thou bethink thyself of what thou hast left behind thee. For much time thou leavest bereft and orphaned thy children and grandchildren. Yea, no more mayest thou bethink thyself how they may end. We go to join with and rejoice with thee after many days."

And behold how they addressed the kin of the dead:

761 764 "My son, take to thyself and exert all thy force; apply thyself that thou take maize gruel and [thy] half-tortilla.[20] Take courage. Of what avail is what we say? Is it that [our lord] feeleth ill will toward us?—that he mocketh us? Verily, [it is that] our lord hath willed and commanded that he hath already fulfilled his office and reached his end here. What? Couldst thou in truth yet bring it about that he might borrow a little, a day, [here] on earth?

"And although thy heart and body feel affliction and pain, although it is dark there where he lieth alone and awaiteth the commandment of our lord, be of good cheer, and henceforth be sure of thy orphanhood.

764 "What canst thou do, that thou art bereft? My son, use all thy strength; let not thy head hang, like one in grief. For now we have come to strengthen thy heart and thy body by a little. For here is the purpose and office of motherhood, of fatherhood. For our lord hath destroyed [the household]; for thy mothers and fathers have gone, they who well uttered and recounted their consolations and lamentations. And this is enough. Thus [we who are as] thy mothers and fathers have entreated thee. Go in peace."

Then the old men whose office it was prepared the paper vestments. They shredded, cut up, and bound the paper. And when they had prepared the paper adornment, thereupon they arrayed the dead one; they flexed [his limbs]; they poured water upon his head.

They said to him: "Behold that which thou hast enjoyed, that by which thou hast lived on earth."

And then they poured a little water into a bowl, and offered it [to him], and said to him:

"Behold wherewith thou shalt travel."

Then they put [the bowl] in with him, and thereupon they bound him well; they bound firmly upon him [the wrappings for the dead]; they wrapped them round and round him and tied them firmly

matiz in monica motepoxtzco, in macujl in matlac, ca otiqujmoonjcnocauhteoac, otiqujmontlacacauhteoac, in mopilhoan, in motxvioan, ca ocmo tihoallamatiz y çaço quen popoliviaque, ca motech tonacitivi, motech tonpachivitivi, in macujl in matlac.

Auh izcatquj ic qujtlatlauhtiaia in mjccaoa.

Nopiltze ma ixquich ximmanili, ma ixquich motlapal xjcmochivili, ma ximochicaoa, ma ticcauh yn atolatl, in tlapâqui, ma ximelaquaoa, quennel tiquitoanj, cujx çan aca ic techcocolia, cujx çan aca ic techqueloa, ca oquimonequilti oquimjtalhuj in totecujo, ca ie vncan ca itequjuh, ca ie vncâ ca itzonquiçaia, quen xoconchioa in ma oc achitzin ca in ma oc cemilhujtzintli conmotlanevianj in tlaltícpac.

Auh ynjn tlacuelchoatl ontoneoa, onchichinaca in moiollotzin in monacaiotzin, tlacuelchoatl ontlaioatica in vncan ontlacauhteoac, in vncan ocontlatolchiaia in totecujo, tlacuele centlamjc xoconmomachiti in jcnopiltol,

quennel timotolinja, nopiltze ma ixquich motlapal, xicmochivili, ma nocuele iuhquin tlaocoli tocontolo, ca çan nican achitzin, ic ticchicauhtivitze in moiollotzin, in monacaiotzin, ca nican popovi ixtlavi, in naniotl, in taiotl, ca otlanemiuhiantili in totecujo, ca oiaque in monanoa in motaoa, in vel quitenteoaia in vel quipoaia in choquizio, in ixaioiotlatolli. auh ca ie ixquich, injc tnitzmotlatlauhtilia yn monaoa, in motaoa tle ticmatcatzintli.

Niman qujntlachichiviliaia yn amatlamatque, in vevetque in machiceque catca: yn amatl quixxotlaia, quitetequja quihilpiaia. auh in oquicencauhque in amatlatquitl, njman ie ic quichichioa in mjcqui, quicocotzotlalia, icpac conteca atl,

quilhuja. Jzcatquj yn oticmotlamachtico ino ic tinenca tlaltícpac.

auh njmâ achi contonco conteca in atl, conmaca quilhuja.

Yzcatquj injc tonotlatocaz,

njman itic conaquja niman ie ic quiquiquimiloa, quitetcuhquimiloa, quitetcuhilpia, quicacaxilpia in mjcqui njman ie quimamaca, in iamatlatqui, auh in

[20] Cf. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 395. This is the small child's ration as given in Codex Mendoza.

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about the dead one. Then they laid out his paper adornment in order. And when they had arranged it in order, then they gave it all to him. They placed it as an offering before him and said to him:

"Behold wherewith thou shalt pass there where the mountains come together.

"And behold how with this thou shalt pass the road which the serpent watcheth.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt pass the green lizard, the *xochitonal*.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt cross the eight deserts.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt go over the eight hills.

"Behold wherewith thou shalt travel the place of the obsidian-bladed winds."

For there, in that place, the place of the obsidian-bladed winds, it was said that all suffered much. By winds were all the obsidian blades, and stones, borne. And hence, when valiant men died, [their kin] burned all of their baskets with insignia, their shields, their obsidian-bladed swords, and all the things [which they had wrested from] their captives; and all their capes, and all their clothing of whatever sort.

Likewise, [if it were] a woman, all her baskets, her waist bands, her divided cords for holding up the textile, her skeins, her shuttles, her battens, her cane stalks, her combs—also all [this] burned with her.

It was said that they would encircle themselves [with these things] and thus be protected in the place of the obsidian-bladed winds, and not suffer greatly. And he who had nothing among his wretched belongings, who went bare, underwent much pain and suffered much in order to pass the place of the obsidian-bladed winds.

And also they caused him to carry a little dog, a yellow one; they fixed about its neck a loose cotton cord. It was said that [the dog] bore [the dead one] across the place of the nine rivers in the land of the dead.

And when Mictlan tecutli was reached, he offered up all with which they had adorned the dead ones on earth—the ceremonial papers,[4] the pine incense burners, and bundles of canes [for perfume], loose cotton thread, and red cotton thread, or his cape

ocontlamamacaque, njman ie conmaca centlamantli ixpan cõmana quilhuja. 764

Yzcatquj inic tonqujçaz in vncan tepetl imonamiquja. 764

auh izcatquj ic itla tonquiçaz in vtli qujpia yn coarl. 775

auh izcatquj iqu itlan tonqujçaz, in xoxouhqui cuetzpalin in xochitonal.

auh izcatqui ynjc tocontocaz chicuey ixtlaoatl.

auh izcatquj ic tonquiçaz in chicue tiliuhcan.

Yzcatquj ic tonquiçaz in itzehecaian.

auh in vncan y, ytzehecaian, quil cenca netolinilo, muchi hecatoco in jtztli, yoan in xaltetl, auh ipampa in miquja in oquichtin in jntlavizpetlacal yn jnchimal, yn jnmaquauh, yoã in ixqujchtin ymalteooan, yoã in ixqujch in itilma, yoan in jxqujch in tlein itlatlatqui, muchipan quitlatiaia;

ça ie no ivi in cihoatl in ixqujch in itana, in ineanaia, yn imecamaxal, yn iquatzõ, yn ixiiouh in itzotzopaz, in ivtlauh, yn iteçacauh ytziquaoaz, no muchi ipã tlatla,

quilmach quimotenãtiz, ic mehecatzacuiliz yn itzehecaiã, amo cenca motoliniz. auh yn aq'n atle itlatquitzin içan iuh iauh, cẽca tlaihjiovia cenca motolinja, inic quiça itzehecaian.

Auh yoã centetl chichiton quivicaltia ieh in coci, concozcatia potonqui icpatl, quilmach quipanaviz chicunaoapan in mjctlan.

auh in iquac onaxioa in jtech mjctlan tecutli, quitlamamaca i tlaltícpac in tlein qujnchichivilia mimicque in eviloel, ocotlenamactli, yoan quiqujmiloaia acaquavitl, yoan potonqui, yoan chichilicpatl, aço yulma, anoço ymaxtli. auh in cihoatl icue, ivipil. yoa

4. *Ihuhuil*: meaning is problematical. In Seler's *Einige Kapitel* (p. 297, n. 3) this is offered: "*ihuhuil—Bekreuzung, vgl. Molina ewhuhuia—kreuz ziehen durchmesser.*"

764 or his breech clout. And a woman, her skirt [or] her shift, and indeed all her clothing she had left they
775 bound together.

And when eighty days [had passed], then they burned [these]. Likewise was this done after a year, and after two years, and after three years. And when four years had passed, [then was] the last time that they did [this].[5]

And all this, it was said, came to Mictlan tecutli. And when the four years had ended, thereupon [the dead one] went to the nine lands of the dead,[6] [where] lay a broad river.

There the dogs carried one across. It was said that whosoever came walking [to the bank] looked over to the dogs. And when one recognized his master, thereupon he came to throw himself into the water in order to carry his master across. Hence the natives took pains to keep the dogs.

And it was said that the white dogs and the black ones, those which were black, could not carry one over the river to the land of the dead. It was said that the white dog said: "I have just washed myself." And one which was black said: "I have just stained myself black." Only a yellow [one][7] could bear one across.

And there at the nine lands of the dead, the [dead] were completely destroyed.

764 And when it came to pass that [the old men] had ornamented [the dead one], then they took him to the fire. And first they slew the little dog; thereupon they burned [the dead one and the dog].

Two old sextons took great care of [the dead one]. And some of the sextons stayed singing. And when the body of [the dead one] already was burning, they took great pains with it, they kept packing it down. And the body crackled and popped, and smelled foul. And when it came to pass that they had burned it, thereupon they gathered and heaped up the coals. And they said: "Let him be bathed"; and thereupon they bathed him—they cast water upon him; they sprinkled and poured the water on him. When [the coals] grew cold, once more they gathered up the charred remains, and thereupon dug a round hole in which to place it—a pit, and this they called a cave.

in ie muchi itlathtquj, in oquicauhteoac mochi quiquimiloa,

in iquac nappoaltica iquac tlatla, no iuh muchioaia yn iquac cexiuhtica. yoan in iquac oxiuhtica, yoan in iquac icxiuhtica: auh in iquac nauhxiuhtica ça cen in conchioa.

auh injn quilmach much itech onaci, in Mictlan tecutli: auh in otzonquiz nauhxivirl, njman ie ic izuh in chicunauhmjctlan, icac atl patlaoac,

ie vncan in tepanavia chichime, quil in aqujn oquiçato ivic oalachia in chichi. auh in oquioalixima yn itecujo njman ie ic oalmomaiavi in atlan injc quipanaviz in itecujo, ipampa in njcan tlaca cenca qujnnemjtiaia in chichime.

auh quil in iztac chichi. yoã in tliltic, in tlilca quil avel tepanavia yn mjctlan, quil quitoa in iztac ca quin ononnotlapaquili. auh in tlilca quitoa ca quin onionnoçac, çan ye yio in coci vel tepanavia.

auh in vncan chicunamjctlan vcã ocempopolioca.

Auh in ie iuhqui yn oquicencauhque, njmã ie quivica in tleco, yoan in chchiton achto conmjctia, njman ie ic tlatla,

cenca quimocuitlavia in tlalhoaque vmentin, auh in cequjntin tlalhoaque cujcatoque: auh in iquac ie tlatla inacaio cenca qujmocuitlavia quixixiltinemj. auh in tonacaio, tzotzoioca, cuecuepoca, yoan tzoiaia: auh in ie iuhquj in ocontlatique, njmã ie ic collolalia, quitepeuhtitlalia in tlexochtli. Yoan qujtoa ma onmalti, njman ie ic caltia catequja capapachoa, capapatztza, in ocecenh, ie nó ceppa collolalia in tecolli, njman ie ic tlatataca iaoaltic in quitlalia, tlatatactli,

5. Cf. also Seler: *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3, pp. 144f. Gifts given the prince of the underworld were a false stationary bundle of resinous wood, clothing, and a mask. Similar rites were performed for those who died far from home, or had been taken captive and sacrificed. Seler adds that if quarry fell in an expedition, the ruler prepared a public feast, in which there were singing and dancing in honor of the dead, and the burning of a stationary bundle, gifts, and belongings of the dead. The feast lasted four days.

6. The nine lands or regions of the dead were thought of as arranged in tiers, or layers, the ninth being the deepest. See Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, IV, pp. 178. The heavens likewise rose in tiers.

7. Red, according to Seler (*Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3, pp. 144f.). See, however, *Kinjo Kapitel*, p. 298 (*gelbe*).

Thereupon they swiftly filled the pit with the charred remains. There they covered it with earth.

And [this was done with] the noblemen as well as peasants.

When they had burned, they gathered and heaped up the bones, filling a small jar or small bowl [with them]. Upon the bones they laid a green stone. They buried [the bowl] in the house or the tribal temple [of the dead one].[9]

And where they buried [the ashes], they always laid offerings for them.

And when the chiefs and princes died, they laid in their mouths green stones.[9] And those who were only peasants [they provided] only a [common] greenish stone or [a piece of] obsidian. It was said that these became their hearts.

And the chiefs with many things they thus bedizened: their paper adornment which they made [was a] princely paper streamer of either four fathoms' or three fathoms' [length] of papers which they glued one to another. And upon it they hung various feathers—[those of] the heron and the trupial; dark yellow parrot breast feathers; the red arara; quetzal breast feathers; hawk feathers,[10] and yet other feathers.

And some were maide [their] companions—the beloved slaves, perchance a score of the men and as many of the women. Thus they said that they were those who cared for their master, and still made chocolate and prepared food for him. And the men they sent as servants, likewise to care for him in the land of the dead.

And when the chief already burned, thereupon they slew the slaves, driving only bird arrows through their throats. They did not burn [with] the chief. Quite separately they buried the slaves, and quite alone the chief burned.[11]

ynjn quitocaiotia ōmtzl njman ie ic contentiquetza in teculli, tlatatactli vncā contoca.

auh yoan in pipilti, yoan in maceoaltin, 764

yn iquac otlatlaque, quipepena quicenquixtia in jnnomio, contōco, xoctonco quitentiquetza, in omitl ipan contlalia chalchivitl, quitoca ichan icalpolco.

auh in vncan quintoca muchipa quintlamanilia.

Yoan in iqē ī miquia in tlatoque, yoan in pipilti quintololtiaia chalchivitl. auh in çan maceoalti, çan texoxoctli, anoço itztli, quilmacu iniollo muchioa. 764 766

auh in tlatoque mjec tlamantli, injc quinchichioa, yn amatlatquitl quichioaia tecpanitl anoço nāmatl, anoço iēmatl, amatl quiçaçaloa. yoan itech quipipiloa, in nepapan ihujtl, aztatl çaquan, xolotl, cueçali, tziuhtli, cuixihujtl, yoan oc cequi ihujtl. 766

auh cequintin tevicalti muchioa in tlatlacotzitzintin, aço cen tecpantli yn oquichtli, no izqui ī cihoatl iuh quitoaia in quenjn oquimocuitlavique in jntecujo, yn oc achiviliaia, yn oqu itlaqual chiviliaia, auh in oquichti quintititlani, çan no iuh quimocuitlavizque in mjctlan:

auh in iquac ie tlatla tlatoanj, njman ie ic quimomjctia in tlatlacoti, çan totomjtl in quechtlā conaquia, amo yoan tlatla in tlatoanj, çan nonqua quintoca in tlatlacoti, çan vel yioca tlatla in tlatoanj.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "*en una camara de su casa.*"

9. See Pl. 15. *Quimotlalhuia*: more literally, "made them swallow."

10. *Xolotl*: cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, p. 165. See also Sáez, *Riniejo Español*, p. 299, n. 3: "*Verguenlich corrobrichen aquest 'shi' in vuier diuers.*" *Tzinihili* and *cuxihuitl* are identified in the same place in the text.

11. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, pp. 521 ff.) thus describes the funeral ceremonies for a chief: Neighboring towns were notified of the death, and the ceremonies were scheduled usually for four or five days later. Chiefs of nearby towns brought gifts (mantles, feathers, slaves). The body of the deceased was wrapped in mantles and adorned with gold, silver, and jewels. A green stone was laid in the mouth, as heart. Hair was cut from the crown of the head of the deceased and kept in a wooden box with a painting of the god (unnamed); a slave was killed in honor of the god. On the mourning bundle were placed the ornaments of the god. A solemn procession, including neighboring chiefs, relatives, friends, wives of the deceased, and chanting priests marched (weekend hearing of dreams) to meet other priests at the temple. At the foot of the pyramid, they ignited the pyre of wood and some incense. As the body burned, as many as one or two hundred slaves were sacrificed in the usual manner, and burned in another pyre. These were household slaves (including dwarfs, jesters, and the like) and others presented by visiting dignitaries. Next day, the ashes were gathered, along with the remaining hair previously cut. Friends, relatives, and wives laid offerings before the box. There were four days of such ceremony, after which fifteen or twenty more slaves were sacrificed, since it was thought, the soul of the deceased had undertaken its travels and was in need of aid. Other slaves—up to a dozen or so—were later killed at the end of twenty, forty, sixty, and eighty days. Yearly observances, for four years, quail, rabbits, birds, and butterflies were offered before the box, along with incense, food, wine, flowers, and cones of tobacco. These ceremonies were accompanied by feasting, drinking, and dancing.

[p. 44 is blank]

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The Seventh Chapter telleth of the year counter and the year sign.

Inic chicome capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in xiuhtlapoalli, in xiuhtonalli.

One Rabbit

It is said [that this was] the year sign and year counter of the south. For thirteen years it carried, set on its path, took with it, and bore the burden [of the year]. Always, during each [of the thirteen] years, it was the first, the one which led, began, made the start, and introduced as many year signs as there were: Reed, Flint, and House. Of the one [known as] Reed, it was said [that it was] as it were the sign of the east; that is, the year sign of the sun. For from there issued the light which shone forth.

And the third year sign, the one [known as] Flint, was called the sign of the north. For [the north] was said to be toward the land of the dead. Thus have the old people spoken: it is said that when one died, to that place set out, went straightway, and proceeded the dead. Therefore, when someone died—when [the seniors] adorned him, when they wrapped him in his mantle and bound him [in wrappings]—they made him look toward and seated him looking to that place.

And the fourth year sign, the fourth in order, [was] the one known as House—the sign of the west. For this reason they named it Cioatlampa: it is said that there dwelt but women; none of us men were there.

These four year signs, year count[ers], as many times as they came to appear, [so many times] they came to be the beginning year signs.

When all the thirteen-year [periods]—all four of them—had concluded, ended, and finished, thus proceeding around, to give and leave their works from year to year, this [last] one came to, stopped at, jogged, knocked against, and ended at Thirteen House, the sign of the west. That is, now it approached [the end of its] thirteen years of labor.

And then One Rabbit came to settle itself as the sign of the south. When this occurred and it established itself and began its work, thus to bear a year

Ce tochtli.

motenehua: uitztlampa xiuhtonalli, xiuhtlapoalli: matlactiuiuitl omei tlauica, tlaotlatoctia, tlatqui, tlamama. In muchipa cecexiuhtica, vel tlaiacatia, tlaiacana, quipeoaltia, ipeuhca muchioa, quitzintia in inquiteti xiuhtonalli in acatl, in tecpatl, in calli. In iehoatl acatl, mitoa: tlapcopa tonalli, iuhquinma, q. n. tlauilcopa xiuhtonalli: ipāpa ca umpa oalneci in tlauilli, in tlanestia.

Auh inic ei xiuhtonalli, iehoatl in tecpatl: motenehua mictlampa tonalli, ipampa in mjtoa mictlampa: iuh quitoaia in veuetque, quilmach in icoac micoa: vmpa itztiui, vmpa tlamelaoa, vmpa tlatotoca in mimicque. Iehica, in icoac aquin miquia, in oconchichiuhque, in oconquiquimiloque, in oconilpique: vmpa quitlachialtiaia, vmpa quitztiltitimotlalitia.

Auh inic nani, tlanauhcaiotia, xiuhtonalli: iehoatl in calli motenehua, cioatlampa tonalli. Ipāpan iuh quitoaia, cioatlampa: quilmach, çan muchi cioa umpa onoque, aocaque toquichtin.

Inin nauhteme xiuhtonaltin, xiuhtlapoaltin: izquiteme ceceppa moquetztiui, tonalpeuhcaiome muchiuhtiuj.

Inic muchi matlatlacxiuitl omeci, quitlamja, conxitia, quitzonquixtia nauhteixtin: inic tlaiaoalotiui, quimomacatiui, quimocauiliciui, intequiuh, cecexiuhtica: iehoatl itech onaci, itech ōmocaoa, itech ontzopi, itech ontlaztotoaia, ontlatonquixtia in matlactlomei calli, cioatlampa tonalli. q. n. ie ocaxiti in matlactiuitl omei itequiuh.

Auh niman ic oalmoquetza in ce tochtli: uitztlampa tonalli. In icoac, y, moquetza, in quipeoaltia itequiuh, inic ce xiuitl tlamicac, tlaotlatoctia: cenca

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

86. Burning of Moctezuma's body (Chapter 23). 87. Itzquauhtzin's body is carried away (Chapter 23). 88. Burning of Itzquauhtzin's body (Chapter 23). 89. Spaniards set forth from their quarters in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 24). 90. Spaniards are detected leaving (Chapter 24). 91-93. Flight from Tenochtitlan (Chapter 24). 94. People of Tecuilhuyacan comfort the Spaniards (Chapter 25).

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Twenty-first Chapter. Here is told [how] war first began, when the Mexicans gave battle to the Spaniards here in Mexico.

And the Spaniards fortified themselves. And the Spaniards also shot at the Mexicans with iron arrows, and fired the guns at them. And then they put Moctezuma in irons.

And all the chieftains who had died [in the temple courtyard] were thereupon taken out and brought forth, and identified. And the mothers and fathers raised a cry of weeping; all wept over them; there was wailing. First they took them to their homes. Later they carried them to the temple courtyard, brought them together there, and burned them together there at the place called Quauhxicalco.[1] But some [were] burned only at the various young men's houses.

And when the sun was about to enter his house, [but] a little sun still [shone], thereupon Itzquauhtzin cried out; on the [palace] roof-top, he called out and spoke: "O Mexicans, O men of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco, your ruler, the lord of men, Moctezuma, beseecheth you and saith: 'Let the Mexicans hear! We are not the equals [of the Spaniards]![2] Let [the battle] be abandoned! Let the arrow and shield be stilled! Unhappy [are] the poor old men and women, the common folk, those not yet of understanding — who toddle, who crawl, who lie placed in cradles or on [cradle] boards, those yet untrained!' For this reason doth your ruler say: 'We are not the equals [of the Spaniards]; may [the strife] cease' — because they have shackled him; they have had irons placed on his feet!"

And when he had said this, then they raised a clamor and chid him. The Mexicans became more and more enraged. One, much inflamed by anger, said: "What saith Moctezuma, O fool? [Art thou] not one of his warriors?"[3] Whereupon there was

Injc cempoalli oce capitulo: vncan mjtoa iancuj- 726
can peuh iauiotl, injc qujmjcalque Mexica in Espa-
ñoles in njcan mexico.

Auh in ichoantin Españoles: njman valmotepe-
tlatzatzacque. Auh in Españoles no qujnvalmjna in
Mexica in jca tepuzmjtl, yoan ic qujnvalmotla in
tlequjqujztli. Auh njman tepuztli contlatlahiique
in Motecuçoma:

auh in jxqujchtin tiacavan in omjcque: njmā ie ic 764
tequjztilo, teçaçact, teiiximacho. Auh in tenanvan
in tetaoan tlachoqujztleoa te:hoqujlilo, nechoqujlilo,
oc inchachan qujnvicaca, çatepan qujnoalhujcaque in
teuitvalco, qujncentlalique: vmpa qujncentlatique,
cecnj in jtocaiocan: Quauhxicalco. Auh in cequjn-
tin tlatlaque çan tetelpuchcali.

Auh in ie oncalaquja tonatiuh, in oc achiton tona- 648
tiuh: njman ie ic valtzatzi in Jtzquauhtzin, tlapanco
valtzatzi: qujoalito. Mexicae, tenuchcae, tlatilulcae,
amechtlatlauhti in amotlatocauh, in Tlacatecutli in
Motecuçoma: qujoalitoa. Ma qujcaqujcan in Me-
xica, ca amo titenamjcvan, ma motlacavaltican, ma
momana in mjtl in chimalli, motolinja in jcnoveve,
in jcnoilama in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli in aiamo quj-
mati in moquequetza, in movilana, in coçultentoc, in
vapaltentoc, in aiamo qujmomachitia: ipampa con-
jtoa in amotlatocauh. Camo titenamjcvan, ma netla-
caoaltilo, ca oconteputziotique, tepuztli icxic ocon-
tlatlalilique:

Auh in oconjto in, njmā ie ic conchachalatza,
consoca, çan ie ilhujce tlavelcuj in Mexica qualanj,
ce ilhujce poçonj: conjlhuja. Tleis qujoalitoa Mote-
cuçoma nocse? amo ce yioqujchoan? Nimā ie ic
tlacaoaca, niman ic maantimoquetz in tlacaoaca:

1. Four places named Quauhxicalco, in the temple square, are mentioned in Book II — *The Ceremonies*, pp. 168, 170, 171.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*¿no[s] somos hombres con esos flechas con que tenemos?*"

3. *Ibid.*: "*¿Que dize el preso de Motençuma? Y no soliades vos el, no enamorauas la guerra?*" Meaning literally, "my friend."

landings of the temple [pyramid];[6] like black ants they tumbled down. And the Spaniards[7] hurled indeed all of them from the temple [pyramid]; none then escaped. And when they had come from dealing death, thereupon [the Spaniards] entered [the palace] and quickly barricaded themselves.

And this happened during the hour of eating.

And when this had come to pass, then it was made known to the people, and [the dead] were taken forth; and when all who had been cast from the temple [pyramid] had been taken out, then all were burned at the various young men's houses.[8]

noles vel mochintin quinteucalhuique in iaquichtin tlecoca in tiiacaoan, vel mochinti moteucalhuique, njman aocac maquiz. Auh in ontemictico, njman ie ic callacꝫ valmotzatzacutivetzque. 726

Auh inin muchiuh ie tlaqualizpan:
auh in ie iuhquj njmā ie ic teixtimacho, teçaçaco:
auh in ie muchintin oçacoque in moteucalhujꝫ,
njmā ie ic tetlatilo in tetelpuchcali. [264] 764

6. See Pl. 83.

7. The title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y llegando ala alto del cu, cumplerō a herir y matar a los que estauan arriba, y muchos dellos se despeñaron por el cu abaxo, finalmente todos murieron los que estan subido al cu tornaronse los españoles a su fuerte y barricaronse muy bien. Los mexicanos enterraron a los que alli murieron porque todo era gente principal y de mucha cuenta en la guerra."

[p. 62 is blank]

Twenty-third Chapter, in which is told how Moctezuma and a great nobleman of Tlatilulco had died, and how [the Spaniards] had cast their bodies out before the gate — before the gate of the dwelling in which the Spaniards were.

And when four days had passed since all [the chieftains] had been hurled from the [pyramid] temple, [the Spaniards] came out and cast forth [the bodies of] Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin, who had died,[1] at the water's edge at a place called Teoayoc. For here was a carved stone image of a tortoise;[2] like a tortoise was the representation in stone. And when they were seen and recognized as being Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin, they then took up Moctezuma in their arms and carried him there to a place called Copulco.[3] Thereupon they laid him on a pyre and then kindled and set fire to it. After this, the flames blazed up; it was as if they roared, as the fire formed tongues which rose like tassels of fire. And Moctezuma's body seemed to lie sizzling, and it smelled foul as it burned.

Injc cempoalli vmei Capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma, yoan ce vei pilli tlatilulco mjcque: auh in innacaio qujvallazque iquijaoaioc in calli in vncan catca Españoles.

Auh ie iuh navilhujtl neteucalhujloc in qujmontlaçaco in Motecuçoma, yoan Itzquauhtzin, omjcque, atẽco itocaiocan, Teoaioc: ca vncan catca in jxiptla aiotl, tetl in: tlaxixintli, iuhqujn aiotl ipan mjxeuhtica in tetl.

Auh in oittoque, in oiximachoque in ca ie Motecuçomatzin, yoan Itzquauhtzin: in Motecuçomatzin njmẽn qujoalnapalotiquijzque, qujoalhujcaque in vncan itocaiocan Copulco: njman ie ic qujquaquauhtlapachoa, njman ie ic contlemjna, contlequechia: njman ie ic cuecuetlaca in tletl, iuhqujn tetecujca, iuhqujn nenenepiloa tlecueçalutl, iuhqujn tlemjmjiavatl moquequetza, in tlenenepilli: auh in jnacaio Motecuçoma, iuhqujn tzotzoiocatoc, yoan tzoiaia injc tlatla.

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1. Rafael García Granados points out, in a personal communication, that "concerning the death of Moctezuma various versions exist, but all of them may be included in two large groups: those emanating from the natives and those emanating from the Spaniards. The former maintain that Moctezuma was killed by the Spaniards, and the latter that his death was due to being struck by a rock as he tried to calm his subjects. Among reports of indigenous origin we consider the opinions of Durán, *Hist. de las Indias de Nueva España*, II, 50 — '. . . *la hallaron muerto con una cobrna a los pies y con cinco puñaladas en el pecho*'; Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Décima Tercia Relación de la venida de los Españoles*, p. 12 — '. . . *en donde dicen que unos de ellos le tiró una pedrada de la cual murió, aunque dicen los vasallos que los mismos españoles lo mataron, y por las partes bajas le metieron la espada*'; Acosta, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 588 — '*Al rey Motezuma hallaron los mexicanos muerto, y pasado, según dicen, de puñaladas; y es su opinión que aquella noche le mataron los españoles con otros principales*'; Chimalpain, *Séptima Relación*, p. 199 — '. . . *dicen que le dieron una pedrada, mas aunque se la dieron no le pudieron hacer ningún mal porque había ya más de cinco horas que estaba muerto, y no sabe quien dijo que porque no le dieron la herida le habían metido una espada por la parte baja*'; Orozco y Berra, *Hist. Ant. y de la Conquista*, IV, 436 — '*Son cual fuere el modo con que hemos discurrido, lo cierto fue que Cortés mandó dar garrote a los reyes y señores que en su poder estaban*'; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, 51 — '*hallaron los mexicanos muertos a Moctezuma y al Gobernador de Tlatilulco — echados fuera de las casas reales. . . .*' Reports of Spanish origin are given by Díaz del Castillo, *Hist. Verdadera*, II, 83 — '. . . *y le dieron tres pedradas, una en la cabeza, otra en un brazo y otra en una pierna, y porque les regañaba se curase y comiese y le decían cabos dello palabras, [pedrada] que le acertó en las sienes la derrivaron y maneron sus propios vasallos*'; Cortés, *Cartas de Rel.*, I, 233 — '. . . *le dieron una pedrada las suyos en la cabeza, tan grande, que de allí a tres días murió*'; Vázquez de Tapia, p. 39 — '. . . *tanto que no le dieron con una piedra, tirada con honda, arrodeo de la frente, que luego se tendió muerto*'; Aguilar, *op. cit.*, p. 77 — '. . . *entre otras piedras que venían derramadas, una redonda como una pelota, la cual dió a Motezuma encima entre los dos oydos, entre las sienes y cayó*'; *ibid.*, p. 78 — '*Motezuma herido en la cabeza, dió al cabo a cabo era . . . y en el aposento donde él estaba había otras muy grandes saetas derribadas con él, a las cuales el dicho Cortés con parecer de los capitanes mandó matar, sin dejar ninguno.*' Besides these, we have the opinion of Clavijero, which we consider the most reasonable (*Hist. Ant. de México*, II, 211) — '*Los historiadores mexicanos atribuyen su muerte a los españoles y los españoles a los mexicanos. — Yo no puedo creer que los españoles se atrebiesen a quitar la vida a un rey a quien debían tantos bienes y de cuya muerte ellos podían esperar grandes males.*' Muñoz Camargo, *Hist. de Tlaxcala*, p. 234, says that he died baptized and that his godfathers were Cortés and Alvarado." — Chimalpáin (*op. cit.*, p. 191 — *quimitzmiqui Españoles y Motecuçomatzin çequexcaquiltic xaxapc*, the Spaniards killed Moctezuma, strangling him), agrees with the source used by Orozco y Berra.

2. The corresponding Spanish text has, *por aquel*, galapago — fresh water tortoise. According to Ignacio Alcazar, *Apuntes sobre la antigua México-Tenochtitlan* (Tacubaya, D.F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1935), p. 86, it was where now is "*la esquina de Guatemala con Tacuba.*"

3. Corresponding Spanish text: *en oratorio.* — The version of this report, in Anales, *loc. cit.*, differs considerably from that of the *Florentine Codex.*

Cozu, *op. cit.*, identifies Copulco (Copulco) with a *barrio* adjacent to Tlatilulco, bounded now N. by Calle de Mosqueta; E., Gabriel Leyva; S., Motezuma; and W., Landa (formerly a canal).

764 And as it burned, with pure hatred, with little good will, some chid him, and said: "This evildoer! He terrorized the world! In all the world there was dread [of him]; in all the world there was fear and fright before him; this man, when anyone offended him only a little, he then slew. Many he punished for imagined evil, which was not real but only a fabrication of words."[4] And still many who cursed him, grumbled in their teeth, chattered, and shook their heads.

But Itzquauhtzin they went off with in a boat. They proceeded to take his body in a boat, to arrive here at Tlatilulco. They were deeply saddened; their hearts were desolate. All burst into tears.[5] None chid him; none belittled him. They said: "The lord, the commanding general Itzquauhtzin, suffered torments. He, with Moctezuma, underwent fatigue and affliction. How much pain he endured for us since we have come here and tarried during all the time that Moctezuma was [alive]!" Thereupon they set in order the palace flag and the rest of the paper array with which they bedight him, and they laid food before him.[6] And then they took him in order to burn him in the Temple Courtyard at a place called Quauhxicalco. With great honors his body burned.

726 And for four days there was fighting. For only seven more days the Spaniards were contained in their quarters. And when the seven days had passed, [some Spaniards] again sallied forth, going to observe, look about, and arrive there at Maçatzintamalco.[7] They went to gather stalks of green maize; they went to secure green ears of maize. Even as enemies they went to gather the green maize. They were in great haste; they no more than got there, and then quickly returned to enter [the palace]. And when they set out, the sun was high; [on their return, the sun] was setting.

Auh injc tlatlac, çan tlavelpan, aocmo cenca teiollocopa: cequj caoa: qujtoa. Inin tlapalpul: cemanaoac in otlamamauhtiaia, cemanaoac in ocalimacaxoia, cemanaoac in oivic valnemamauhtiloia, valneiçaviloia: in ichoatl in, in aquin çã tepitzin, injc qujiolitlacoaia, njman contlatlatiaia, mjec in tlapictli oqujtzacujlti in amo nelli in çan tlatolchichioalli: yoan oc mjectin in caoaia, qujqujnacaia, ôoiovaia, moquaquacuecuechoaia.

Auh in Itzquauhtzin conacaihujto, acaltica conanato in jnacaio, injc caxitico njcan tlatilulco, cenca motlaocultique, cenca icnoioac in iniollo, teitzioviton, aiac ma cavaia, aiac in ma qujtelchioa: qujtoaia. Oqujnioui in tlacatl, in tlacuchcalcatl in Itzquauhtzin, ca ivan otlaihiovi, yoã omotolinj in Motecuçoma, quexquich oqujhiovi in topampa in vmpa otivallaque, otiçalitztiaque in inquich cavitl in ocatca in Motecuçoma: njman ie ic qujchichioa in tecpanjtl, yoan oc cequj amatlatqujtl ic qujchichiuhque: yoan qujtlamamacaque: auh njman ic quivicaque in qujtlatito in teuitvalco, itocaiocan quauhxicalco: cenca tlamaviztililiztica injc tlatlac in jnacaio.

Auh iuh navilhujtl necalioac, ça on chicomjlhujtique in caltzacutiçatca in Españoles. Auh in oncic chicomjlhujtl: oc valqujzque ommotlachichcliito, ommotlatlachichcliito, vmpa onacito in maçatzintamalco: concujto ovatl, valxiloiocia, çan conisucujto in tequjzvatl, cenca çan onjciuhtivia, çan tequjtl onacito: njma ic valcalactivetzque: auh in ooqujzca ie vmmeczcaloa, ie vncalaquj in tonatiuh.

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4. *Corresponding Spanish text: "dezeua deshazer vna de Motençuma porque auia sido muy cruel."*

5. *Corresponding Spanish text: "los del Tatilulco lorauan mucho a su gouernador porque era muy buen quian."*

6. *See Pl. 88.*

7. *"Breve Reseña y Cinquelopue," according to R. H. Barlow: "Acaxee de la conquista de Tlatelolco en 1473 y en 1521." Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos, V (1945), p. 40, n. 7; it is also noted that "Tetlalcahuiloc (2,387) la colocan en 'el valle de Almoloya.'" The Anales de Tlatelolco (Heinrich Berlin, ed.; México: Antigua Librería Robredo, 1948), p. 45 (§111), mentions the place in connection with Nezahualcoyotl. —In this paragraph, as in many others, it is to be noted a great similarity between Sahagún's translation and the Anales de Tlatelolco (§§102, 103). — Rafael Garcia Granados, personal communication.*

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423 they had originally settled, the solid surface was eventually much
311 too small for their numbers, and they themselves put an efficient stop to further growth thereof by converting, as we have seen elsewhere, for the purpose of defence, their marshy surroundings into water-sheets, through the construction of extensive causeways.[80] While the remnants of the original "tecpantlalli" and of the "tlatocatlalli" still remained visible in the gardens, represented to us as purely ornamental, which dotted the pueblo of Mexico,[81] the substantial elements wherewith to fulfil a purpose for which they were no longer adequate had, in course of time, to be drawn from the mainland. But it was not feasible, from the nature of tribal condition, to extend thither by colonization. The soil was held there by other tribes, whom the Mexicans might well overpower and render tributary, but whom they could not incorporate, since the kinships composing these tribes could not be fused with their own. Outposts, however, were established on the shores, at the outlets of the dykes, at Tepeyacac on the north, at Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, and at Huitzilopochco to the south, but these were only military positions, and beyond them the territory proper of the Mexicans never extended.[82] *Tribute*, therefore, had to furnish the
651 means for sustaining their governmental requirements in the matter
423 of food, and the *tribute lands* had to be distributed and divided, so as to correspond minutely to the details of their home organization. For this reason we see, after the overthrow of the Tecpanecas, lands assigned apparently to the head war-chiefs, to the military chiefs of the quarters, "from which to derive some revenue, for their maintenance and that of their children."[83] These

[80] "Art of War" (pp. 150 and 151). L. H. Morgan ("Ancient Society," Part II, cap. VII, pp. 190 and 191).

[81] Humboldt ("Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," vol. II, lib. III, cap. VIII,
[351] p. 50). Nearly all the old authors describe the public buildings as surrounded by pleasure-grounds, or ornamental gardens. It is very striking that, the pueblo having been founded in 1325, and nearly a century having been spent in adding sufficient artificial sod to the originally small solid expanse settled,—the Mexicans could have been ready so soon to establish purely decorative parks within an area, every inch of which was valuable to them for subsistence alone!

[82] The Mexican tribe proper clustered exclusively within the pueblo of Tenochtitlan. The settlements at Iztapalapan, Huitzilopochco and Mexicaltzinco were but military stations—outworks, guarding the issues of the causeways to the South. Tepeyacac
[312] (Guadalupe Hidalgo) was a similar position,—unimportant as to population,—in the North. Chapultepec was a sacred spot, not inhabited by any number of people, and
● 764 only held by the Mexicans for burial purposes, and on account of the springs furnishing fresh water to their pueblo.

[83] Tezozomoc (Cap. XV, p. 34). See note 57.

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Granada.[105] It was different, however, in Mexico, where we meet with traces of a decided progress. Not only had descent been changed to the male line,[106] but heirship was limited, to the exclusion of the kin and of the agnates themselves, to the children of the male sex.[107] Whatever personal effects a father left, which were not offered up in sacrifice at the ceremonies of his funeral,[108] they were distributed among his male offsprings, and if there were none, they went to his brothers. Females held nothing whatever, beyond their wearing apparel and some few ornaments for personal use.

The "tlalmilli" itself, at the demise of a father, went to his oldest son, with the obligation to improve it for the benefit of the entire family until the other children had been disposed of by marriage.[109] But the other males could apply to the chief of the calpulli for a "tlalmilli" of their own:[110] the females went with

[105] Gomara ("Historia de las Indias," Vedia I, p. 201). Garcia ("Origen de los Indios," Lib. IV, cap. 23, p. 247). Piedrahita (Parte I, lib. I, cap. 5, p. 27). Joaquin Acosta ("Compendio historico del Descubrimiento y Colonisazion de la Nueva-Granada," Cap. XI, p. 201). Ternaux-Compans ("L'ancien Cundinamarca," pp. 21 and 38).

[106] Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, p. 120). Gomara (p. 434). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIII). Zurita (pp. 12 and 43).

[107] Letter of Motolinia and Diego d'Olarte, to Don Luis de Velasco, Cholula, 27 Aug., 1554 ("Recueil, etc., etc.," p. 407). "The daughters did not inherit, it was the principal, wife's son . . . ." Besides, nearly every author designates but a son, or sons,—as the heirs. There is no mention made of daughters at all. In Tlaxcallan, it is also expressly mentioned that the daughters did not inherit (Torquemada, Lib. XI, cap. XXII, p. 348). In general, the position of woman in ancient Mexico was a very inferior one, and but little above that which it occupies among Indians in general. (Compare the description of Gomara, p. 440. Vedia I, with those of Sahagun, Lib. X, cap. I, p. 1; cap. XIII, pp. 30, 31, 32 and 33. The fact is generally conceded). H. H. Bancroft, "Native Races." Vol. II, Cap. VI, p. 234, etc.

[108] Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, p. 120). Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XLII to XLVIII, pp. 515 to 529). Acosta (Lib. V, cap. VIII, pp. 320, 321 and 322). Gomara (pp. 436 and 437. Vedia, I). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XL, pp. 102 and 103). Clavigero (Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX. "They burnt the clothes, arrows, and a portion of the household utensils . . . . .")

[109] Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, p. 120), "el cual hacer de testamento no se acostumbraba en esta tierra, sino que dejaban las casas y heredades á sus hijos, y el mayor, si era hombre, lo poseia y tenia cuidado de sus hermanos y hermanas, y yendo los hermanos creciendo y casándose, el hermano mayor partia con ellos segun tenia; y si los hijos eran por casar, entrábanse en la hacienda los mismos hermanos, digo en las heredades, y de ellas mantenian á sus sobrinos y de la otra hacienda." Gomara ("Conq. de Mejico," p. 434). "It is customary among tributary classes that the oldest son shall inherit the father's property, real and personal, and shall maintain and support all the brothers and nephews, provided they do what he commands them. The reason why they do not partition the estates is in order not to decrease it through such a partition . . . ." Simancas M. S. S ("Recueil, etc., etc.," p. 234). "Relative to the calpulalli . . . . the sons mostly inherit."

[110] Zurita (p. 53). "He who has no land applies to the chief of the tribe (calpulli), who, upon the advice of the other old men, assigns to him a tract suitable for his wants, and corresponding to his abilities and to his strength." Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 125).

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their husbands. Single-blessedness, among the Mexicans, appears to have occurred only in case of religious vows, and in which case they fell back for subsistence, upon the part allotted to worship, or in case of great infirmities, for which the calpulli provided.[111] No mention is made of the widow participating in the products of the "tlalmilli," still it is presumable that she was one of those whom the oldest son had to support. There are indications that the widow could remarry, in which case her husband, of course, provided for her.[112]

The customs of Inheritance, as above reported, were the same with chiefs as well as with the ordinary members of the tribe. Of the personal effects very little remained since, the higher the office was which the deceased had held, the more display was made at his cremation, and consequently the more of his dresses, weapons and ornaments, were burnt with the body.[113] Of lands, the chiefs only held each their "tlalmilli" in the usual way, as members of their kin, whereas the other "official" lots went to the new incumbents of the offices. It should always be borne in mind, that none of these offices were hereditary themselves. Still, a certain "right of succession" is generally admitted as having existed. Thus, with the Tezcucans, the office of head war-chief might pass from father to son,[114] at Mexico from brother to brother, and from uncle to nephew.[115] This might, eventually, have tended to *perpetuate* the

[111] Such unmarried females were the "nuns" frequently mentioned by the old writers. We shall have occasion to investigate the point in our paper on "the ancient Mexican priesthood." As attendants to worship, they participated in the tributes furnished towards it by each calpulli, of which we have spoken.

[112] Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat. de Indias," Lib. XXXIII, cap. LIV, pp. 347-353), reports a conversation with Don Juan Cano, held at San Domingo, 8 of Sept., 1544, in which the said Cano asserts that he married Moutezuma's daughter, widow of Quauhtemotzin. There is an indefinite report that, when she married Quauhtemotzin, she was already the widow of Cuitlahuatzin. Intermarriage of widowers and widows took place in Yucatan, but without any ceremony. See Landa, "Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan." Paris, 1864, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, p. 142, §XXV.

[113] See note No. 108, the same quotations apply to this case. Besides, we refer to the numerous descriptions of funeral rites, or rather cremations, contained, for instance, in Durán, Tezozomoc, Ixtlilxochitl, Veytia, and in Bustamantes "Teocco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Also to the cremation of the head chief of Michhuacan, as related by Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XLI, pp. 164-167). We abstain from special quotations, the subject being amply discussed in all the authors just mentioned.

[114] Zurita (p. 12). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 434). Torquemada (Lib. IX, cap. IV, p. 177, Lib. XI, cap. 27, p. 536, etc. etc.).

[115] This fact is too amply proven to need special references. We reserve it for final discussion in our proposed paper on the chiefs of the Mexicans, and the duties, powers and functions of their office.

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582 It is beyond our purpose, at present, to dwell on the
[562] ritual details themselves, but we must lay particular stress on the fact, that the wife became the *property* of her husband and that she was, as such, placed under the direct protection of his kinsmen. Such marriages could be annulled by mutual consent,
[586] provided the kin gave its approbation. In such a case the woman was at liberty to marry again, and also to return to the calpulli from which she issued.[110]

● 764 We might now be expected to cast a glance at the funeral rites of the ancient Mexicans since it was *one of the attributes of the kin to enjoy common burial.*[111] But this question is so intimately connected with that of creed and belief that we refrain from trespassing too much on that field. The Mexicans practised cremation and, in the case of warriors slain in battle, at least, it is known that the exercises were conducted by the officers and leaders of each kin, *all its members*, and not the special relatives and friends only of the deceased, attending the ceremony.[112] Our knowledge of the burial places of aboriginal Mexico is still very indefi-

583 was given by their hand, out of which there arise great discomforts, and marriage
584 among free persons is not as free as it should be, therefore, we ordain and command: that no Indian principal of whichever condition or rank ("estado,") shall of his own accord or authority give away any wife to anybody whatsoever, nor shall he prevent any Macegual from marrying freely the woman whom he may wish, and who may like him,—under penalty of thirty days of imprisonment, and other penalties which the Judge may determine upon."

("*Concilios Provinciales, Primero y Segundo, celebrados por la muy noble, y muy Leal ciudad de México etc., etc. Dalos á Luz el Illmo Sr. D. Francisco Antonio Lorenzana Arzobispo de esta Santa Metropolitana Iglesia* Año de 1769). The "principales Indios" are the officers of the "Kins," and thus we have, thirty five years after the conquest, a formal recognition of the custom among the Mexican Indians that marriage was controlled by the Kin. How the "encomenderos" subsequently interfered with that custom, in order to conceal their own criminal doings, is plainly told by *Fray Antonio de Remesal* "*Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chyapa y Guatemala, etc., etc.*" Madrid, 1619 (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 327).

[110] It is singular that some of the earliest ecclesiastical writers imply that there was no rule of repudiation or divorce among the ancient Mexicans. *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 303). The same authority, however, attributes this to the baneful effects of contact with the Spaniards, in consequence of which the customs of the natives grew more or less dissolute and immoral (p. 304). *Zurita* (p. 97) confirms, and *Torquemada* (Lib. XVI, cap. XXIV, p. 196), copies Mendieta literally. For the customs of divorce see *Zurita* (p. 97), *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 304), *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XV, pp. 441 and 442). *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 440). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II, cap. C, XVII, pp. 72 and 73), *Bustamante* ("Tezcoco," p. 196), and others. The division of property mentioned as accompanying the divorce, applies only to personal effects, since the wife brought nothing else. See "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 429, and note 107).

The matrimonial customs of the ancient Mexicans will be more thoroughly discussed by me in another monograph, subsequent to one on "Religious Beliefs."

[111] "*Ancient Society*" (pp. 71 and 83).

[112] Compare *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, pp. 154 and 156), and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXV, pp. 37 and 38).

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nite, owing, in part, to the treasure-seeking propensities of the Spanish immigrants as well as to the diligence of the clergy in obliterating all objects to which the aborigines attached superstitious notions.

For the same reason we refrain here from entering into a detailed account of the customs of worship. Still we feel obliged to state that the feature of "separate religious rites"[113] so characteristic of society based upon kin, is plainly visible among the ancient Mexicans. There are some very remarkable evidences of this, to which we must allude.

It has already been established at the outset, that each calpulli had "its particular god," which was worshipped, as a tutelar deity, within the territory of that calpulli. Consequently each kin had its particular medicine-lodge or temple.[114] Besides, the last one of the seventy-eight places into which Father Sahagun subdivides the great central "teo-calli" of the tribe, is described by him as follows:

"The seventy-eighth edifice was named *calpulli*, these were small buildings enclosing the inside of the square, these little houses they called *calpulli*, and there the principals and officials of the republic gathered, to do penance for four days preceding each festival occurring at twenty days interval. Their vigils thus lasted four days, during which time some of them ate at midnight and others at noon."[115]

This statement, which is confirmed (according to the learned Jesuit John Eusebius Nieremberg)[116] by the celebrated physician and naturalist Francisco Hernandez, is followed by another one, not less important, also of Sahagun:

"They offered up many things in the houses which they called "calpulli," which were like churches of the quarters, where those of the same gathered, as well for to sacrifice, as for other ceremonies they were wont to perform."[117]

Thus the right of the kin to "separate worship" appears not

[113] "*Ancient Society*" (p. 71).

[114] Besides the positive assertions of Sahagun (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211. Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 31): "se ponian en una de las casas de oracion que tenian en los barrios que ellos llamaban calpulli, que quiere decir iglesia del barrio ó parroquia" and (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, etc.), we have also the testimony of *Duran* (Cap. V, pp. 43 and 43, and Cap. IX, pp. 79 and 80), and *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 302).

[115] "*Historia general*," (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211).

[116] "*Historia naturea*," (Lib. VIII, cap. XXII, p. 146).

[117] "*Historia general*," (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211. See note 114).

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643 even now to much ruder tribes;[350] and the ornaments and peculiar
644 garments, like the head-dress so very appropriately designated by the Spaniards as a "half-mitre," and other articles already described by us on a former occasion were not worn by him alone, as the "Cihuacohuatl" enjoyed the same privilege.[351] This, and the burial-rites to which we cannot, here, refer in detail,[352]

114 the pueblo of Acachinanco," to the south of Mexico, in the direction of San Antonio
376 Abad, says *Bustamante* (note a). This was while "Water-Rat" was "chief of men." That the "chief of men" moved alone, or with a small escort only, in the middle of the street, is very natural. He was the head of the official household and the chief war-captain of the confederacy. His particular duty it was, therefore, to greet the strangers. On any ordinary occasion it would have been misplaced, and against all rules of Indian etiquette, for the chief-officers of a tribe to go out to meet them; but in this case, wavering between fear and curiosity, an exception was made. It is worthy of remark that even when the "chief of men" returned at the head of a victorious war-party, the "snake-woman" is not mentioned as sallying forth to greet him in person.

576 [350] This custom of addressing people to whom some deference is due, has been
171 noticed among numerous tribes of America. Among the Mexicans it was not at all an exclusive mark of deference towards the chief-officer. His interlocutors did not look at him, neither did he look at them. See *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XCI, p. 96, Vedia II), *Cieza-de-Leon* (Lib. VII, cap. XI. p. 470). The latter is particularly important, although he but copies *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 588) in the main. As far as other tribes are concerned, I but recall here the Peruvian "Inca." See *Francisco de Jerez* ("Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista del Perú y Provincia del Cuzco llamada la Nueva Castilla," etc., etc., in Vedia, Vol. II, p. 331), when Hernando Pizarro met Atahuallpa for the first time: "los ojos puestos en tierra, sin los alzar á mirar á ninguna parte." Of the Indians of the gulf states of North America, it is said by *James Adair* ("*History of the American Indians*," p. 4): "They are timorous, and consequently cautious, ... exceedingly modest in their behaviour." See also on the Northern Indians, *Loskiel* ("*Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder*," Barby 1788, pp. 17 and 18). It would be superfluous to add further quotations.

[351] *Duran* (Cap. XXVI, p. 215, cap. XLIV, p. 357). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVI, p. 87, cap. LXIX, p. 155, etc.). *Durán* (Lámina 8, Trat I°).

764 [352] That the burial of the "Cihuacohuatl" took place after the same manner as that of the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," is proven by the "Codice *Ramirez*" (p. 67): "Hisiéronse obsequias solemnísimas y un enterramiento mas sumptuoso que el de los Reyes pasados, porque todos lo tenian por el amparo, y muro fuerte del gran imperio Mexicano." *Durán* (Cap. XLVIII, pp. 381 and 382): "el qual despues de muerto, su cuerpo fué quemado y sus cenizas enterradas junto á los sepulcros de los Reyes, haciéndole las exequias conforme á persona tal se debian, de la misma manera que á los reyes se hacian y sus grandezas pedian." *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 466): "le hizieron exequias los Mexicanos, con mas aparato y demostracion que á ninguno de los Reyes auian hecho."

In connection with the burial rites it may be in place, here, to refer to a custom easily interpreted in favor of the assumption, that the "Tlaca-tecuhtli" was a monarch. It is the carving, in the live rock at Chapultepec near Mexico, of human shapes commemorative (or at least said to be) of each of these officers, towards the close of each one's lifetime. There can be no doubt as to the existence of such carvings. The last of them, representing "Wrathy chief," was seen by *Don Antonio de Leon y Gama* ("*Descripcion Histórica y Cronológica de las dos Piedras que con ocasion del Nuevo Empedrado que se está formando en la Plaza principal de México, se hallaron en ella el Año de 1790*," Segunda Edicion; 1832, Parte Segunda, pp. 60 and 61), as late as 1788 or 1784, when it was destroyed ("picada") by order of the authorities. Another figure, intended for

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again establishes the equality in rank of both officers, and it also dispels the notions of royal etiquette and magnificence with which, more particularly, the figure of "Wrathy chief" (Montezuma) has been surrounded in history.

The "chief of men" as head of the official household needed many assistants and subordinates. He required stewards for the care of the stores and their daily apportionment.[353] Especially did he need runners for the delivery of his messages. Such officers could be chosen by him and thus far, but no farther, did he enjoy the right of appointing subordinates.[354] But the appointment to a certain duty by the "chief of men," did not confer any hereditary rank or office. On the contrary, it is even probable that most of these posts were filled by outcasts, since this was, properly, the group from which the inferior servants for the transaction of tribal business could be selected without disturbing the balance of power between the kins.

The "Tecpan" being, as we have already stated, the "house of the community," that is the place where the business of the entire social cluster (as far as the tribe could represent it) was transacted, and, furthermore, it being proven that the same "tecpan"

"Face in the Water," existed a few years previous to that date. According to *Señor Don J. F. Ramirez* ("*Durán*," p. 231, note 1 to Cap. XXXI), disfigured remnants, among which the sign "1 cane" (re-acatl) is plainly visible, can yet be noticed in the rock at Chapultepec on the eastern side of that celebrated hill or isolated bluff.

Now it is equally certain, that such carvings were not only commemorative of the "Tlaca-Tecahtli," but *also of* the "Cihuacohuatl." See *Durán* (Cap. XXXI, pp. 250, 251). A somewhat different version, is given by *Tezcucmac* ("*Crónica*," Cap. XL., p. 69). It is remarkable, however, that comparatively little importance was attached to these funeral monuments. The place of Chapultepec itself, a very striking and conspicuous object and one with which many reminiscences were connected, was viewed as an object of "mollicies." *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXVI, p. 360). That particular attention should be paid to the remains of an officer of high rank is very natural. It is found among the Iroquois, *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. III, pp. 95 and 96. also, "*American aboriginal Architecture*" in *Johnson's Cyclopedia*). It would be useless to dwell further on the subject since it will be fully treated of in one of my subsequent monographs.

[353] It is not devoid of interest to notice, that this official household, in full "blast," appears only after the formation of the confederacy. *Codice Ramirez* (p. 95): "Puso assi mismo este Rey por consejo y industria del sabio Tlacaelel en muy gran concierto su casa y corte, poniendo oficiales que le servian de mayordomos, maestresalas, porteros, coperos, pajes y lacayos. los quales eran sin número. . . . . ." This is not only confirmed by *Durán* (Cap. XXVI), *Tezcucmac* (Cap. XXXV and XXXVI), but even by *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIV, p. 189).

[354] This can easily be inferred from the fact, already established, that all the other kinds of officers of anything like important rank, were *elected* and not appointed. See also the passage, already quoted elsewhere, of *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, p. 498), which is very interesting in a general way.